

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 5129

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, RO, WTO

SUBJ: POSSIBLE WP POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

REF: MOSCOW 14860

1. REFERRING TO REPORTS OF A POSSIBLE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING THIS AUTUMN, FRG REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT AT SEPTEMBER 21 POLADS MEETING.

2. BEGIN TEXT

1. ACCORDING TO REPORTS FROM OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, THERE ARE INDICATIONSTHAT A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT MEETING MAY TAKE PLACE IN THE COURSE OF THIS YEAR WHICH WOULD PROVIDE GUIDELINES FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIET POLICY IN EUROPE, FOR AN AGREED POLICY WITH REGARD TO GERMANY AND BERLIN AS WELL AS FOR THE WP'S BLOCK POLICY.

2. THE SOVIET PRESS HAS RECENTLY UNDERLINED THE SPECIAL ROLE

OF THE "POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE" OF THE WARSAW PACT (SEE THE LEADING ARTICLE IN "PRAVDA" OF 8 SEPTEMBER AND "ISVESTIYA" OF 7 SEPTEMBER). LAST YEAR, A SUMMIT MEETING IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN PLANNED - ACCORDING TO INFORMATION FROM EASTERN EUROPEAN SOURCES - FOLLOWING THE CSCE SUMMIT AND IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CPS (WHICH HAD ALSO BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 1975) BUT WAS CANCELLED, PROBABLY IN VIEW OF THE SAME DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WHICH DELAYED THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CPS; APPARENTLY, IT WAS ESPECIALLY ROMANIA WHICH OBJECTED TO THE SOVIET CLAIMS.

3. NOW, HOWEVER, IT LOOKS AS IF A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT MEETING (I.E. OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE) MAY TAKE PLACE THIS YEAR, PROBABLY IN NOVEMBER. ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLE OF ROTATION, IT WOULD BE ROMANIA'S TURN TO ACT AS THE HOST.

4. AS FAR AS MOSCOW IS CONCERNED, THE PRESENT MOMENT MARKS THE END OF AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN SEVERAL DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH MAY BE THE REASON FOR WISHING TO DRAW UP A BALANCE SHEET AND TO COORDINATE FUTURE POLICIES.

DETENTE IN GENERAL

5. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE WP WISHES TO EXAMINE WHETHER A ROUGHER CLIMATE AND SOME UNFORESEEABLE DEVELOPMENTS DEMAND A CORRECTION OF THE PRESENT COURSE. OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE IS A COORDINATED PUBLIC-RELATIONS POLICY SINCE THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE AFTER THE HELSINKI MEETING. THE SOVIETS WILL ALSO WANT TO COORDINATE THE EFFECTS OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION -ESPECIALLY UNDER SECURITY ASPECTS - AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING IN BELGRADE. THE WP SUMMIT MAY ALSO BE THE FORUM FOR PROCLAIMING EASTERN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT.

POLICY IN REGARD TO GERMANY AND BELIN

6. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE GDR'S PARTNERS WITHIN THE WP WILL
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EMPHASIZE THEIR LOYALTY WITH ITS EFFORTS TO "DEFEND ITS NATIONAL FRONTIER", SIMILAR TO THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE BREZHNEV-HONECKER MEETING IN THE CRIMEA ON 19 AUGUST 1976.

7. THE NOVEMBER DATE ALSO SEEMS LIKELY BECAUSE THE SOVIETS WOULD THEN NO LONGER BE OBLIGED TO BEAR IN MIND THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND COULD ADDRESS THEIR SIGNALS TO NEW GOVERNMENTS IN WASHINGTON AND BONN.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

8. WITH REGARD TO INTER-PARTY RELATIONS, MOSCOW MAY TRY TO

IMPOSE ITS ORTHODOX APPROACH ON THE INNER CIRCLE OF WP MEMBERS, THUS REPAIRING AT LEAST WITHIN ITS OWN CAMP THE LOSS OF FACE IT SUFFERED AT THE EUROPEAN SUMMIT MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES. BY DOING SO, MOSCOW WOULD, AT THE SAME TIME, COUNTERACT THE IMPRESSION - WHICH IS ALSO WIDESPREAD IN THE WEST - THAT ITS LEADING ROLE IS NO LONGER WHAT IT USED TO BE.

9. THE HOLDING OF THIS MEETING IN BUCHAREST WITH ITS - AT LEAST EXTERNAL - REINTEGRATION OF ROMANIA INTO ORTHODOX SOLIDARITY WOULD FURTHER INCREASE MOSCOW'S PRESTIGE. FOR BREZHNEV, IT WOULD BE ONE OF THE HIGH POINTS OF HIS CAREER, SINCE TITO ALREADY TOOK PART IN THE BERLIN CONFERENCE AND HIS GREAT ENEMY MAO IS DEAD. FOR CEAUSESCU, THIS WOULD OFFER HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO COVER UP HIS CONCESSION BY BEING ABLE TO PLAY THE HONOURABLE ROLE OF HOST.

CHINA AND THE WORLD CONFERENCE

10. A WP SUMMIT MEETING SOON AFTER MAO'S DEATH WOULD ALSO OFFER A TACTICALLY FAVOURABLE OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH AN APPEAL TO MAO'S SUCCESSOR. A NEGATIVE REACTION FROM PEKING COULD THEN BE A PRE-TEXT FOR A NEW INITIATIVE FOR AN ("ANTI-MAOIST") COMMUNIST WORLD CONFERENCE.

11. AN URGENT REASON FOR POLITICAL COORDINATION AT A HIGH LEVEL WITHIN THE WP IS ALSO SUPPLIED BY THE CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WITHIN AND BETWEEN CERTAIN MEMBER COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF THE SPREAD OF INFLATION AND OTHER CRITICAL
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DEVELOPMENTS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES TO EASTERN-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

12. OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW HAS ALSO LEARNT THAT THE SOVIETS HAD TRIED TO REVIVE THEIR OLD IDEA OF AN INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING OF THE WP BY THE SETTING-UP OF A PERIODICALLY-MEETING COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AND A PERMANENT MULTILATERALLY-STAFFED SECRETARIAT SIMILAR TO NATO. THE IDEA OF CREATING A COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD MOST RECENTLY BEEN REJECTED IN DECEMBER 1975 WITH THE ARGUMENT (PUT FORWARD BY ROMANIA) THAT POLITICAL DECISIONS IN SOCIALIST STATES WERE AMONG THE PREROGATIVES OF THE PARTY, AND GOVERNMENT MINISTERS COULD NOT COMMIT THE PARTY. HOWEVER, OUR SOURCE IN MOSCOW ADDED THAT IT WAS UNCERTAIN WHETHER THE ROMANIAN OPPOSITION TO THE PLAN COULD BE UPHELD.

13. HOWEVER, ROMANIA WOULD CONTINUE TO REJECT THE EXTENSION OF THE WP TO ASIA (BY ELIMINATING THE EUROPEAN CLAUSE FROM THE TREATY TEXT). IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SUCH AN EXTENSION COULD BE HERALDED BY INVITING A MONGOLIAN DELEGATION TO ATTEND THE WP MEETING. HOWEVER, ROMANIA AS THE HOST WOULD HAVE A CERTAIN INFLUENCE ON THIS. END TEXT
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